1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.223a]

243 nontapering, early-seasoned, undented, and many-tillered varieties. They may possibly reflect a primitive small-cobbed race somewhat like the maize of the Basket Makers. If so, it was one element in the ancestry of Tarascan maize.

[text continues on top of p. 223b]

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[text continues on middle of p. 223b]

GLOSSARY

104 The following list includes Spanish and Tarascan terms frequently used in the text. Words used only once or twice and defined at the time are not included in the glossary. Spanish words are given the local Tarascan usage, which is often different from either customary Mexican or standard Spanish usage. Tarascan words are followed by "T".

Abes (T), the *cabildo*, or chiefs of the ceremonial organization.

Agave, a genus of plants, often called the *maguey*. In the United States, called the century plant.

Agua miel, the unfermented juice of the *agave*.

Aguardiente, normally a liquor distilled from sugarcane; in the Tarascan area, often called *charanda*.

Almud, a dry measure of about 0.8 of a liter.

[text continues on bottom of p. 223b]

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Taken in conjunction with Mangelsdorf and Cameron's recent (1942) analysis of knob number in Guatemalan maize, these results demonstrate the importance of considering altitude above sea level in interpreting the history and development of *Zea mays*.

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GLOSSARY

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Arriero, a muleteer.

Arroba, a measure of weight, slightly less than 25 pounds.

Atapákua (T), squash blossoms and immature squash cooked together.

Atole, a thin gruel, usually made of ground maize with various flavorings.

Ayuntamiento, the civil government of a *municipio*.

Barranca, a steep-sided canyon or gully.

Barrio, a ward or division of a town.

Bilis, a word used to cover a variety of sicknesses.

Cabecera, the largest town and administrative center of a *municipio*.

Cabildo, the group in charge of the ceremonial organization; the aćes.

Calzones, cotton trousers of unbleached muslin, worn by men for work and, by conservatives, for everyday wear.

2: Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945) 1952 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 535 1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

Detroit, Michigan

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Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, Vol. 2, New York, 1905.

Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monografia histórica, etnográfica, y económica*, Mexico, 1940.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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101 The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an
511 elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátz-
cuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is
temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is
relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in
the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards,
probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to
be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy
families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed pri-
126 marily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods
eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals
for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff col-
lected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic
interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation
of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record
124 of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately,
the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy
of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount
of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as
very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate
prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of
error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on
gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount
of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors
had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most
specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take
into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all
these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same
general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid.
146 if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.
262 An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

114 in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

128 [2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield
113 and Adams, Proximate Composition of American Food Materials, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than 262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories. 556 511

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it [184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 113 ment of Agriculture Circular N° 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins**, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods**, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin N° 707, 1939; and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents**, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 705 (1940).

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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114

114 COMMENTS--reviews; critiques of earlier sources; information about authors and their backgrounds; general statements on field experience; etc.
See also:

Methodology . . . . . 12 Date and locale of field study 101

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

FOREWORD

By JULIAN H. STEWARD

000 The Institute of Social Anthropology was created within the Smithsonian Institution to carry out cooperative research and teaching in the field of social anthropology as part of the broad program of Cultural and Scientific Cooperation under the State Department's Interdepartmental Committee.

One of the most important cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. The field research of this program will be directed toward a study of the Tarascans of Michoacán, a large group of Indians whose culture is of great interest to science and whose role in national life is of great importance to contemporary Mexico. In undertaking this work, it is the good fortune of the Institute of Social Anthropology to help further a program already extensively carried out by the University of California in cooperation with the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. The
● 114 present monograph is a community study of Cherán, a Tarascan village, made by Dr. Beals in collaboration with the Mexican institutions.

177 This study is a basic document for understanding native American communities from the point of view both of their individuality and of their gradual assimilation to national life through economic and ideological acculturation. Although Cherán, like many other towns of the Tarascan area, is thought of and thinks of itself as Indian, it is difficult to identify anything that is aboriginal besides its language and racial type. Cherán's domesticated animals, many of its crops, its patterns of cultivation,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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114 The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940–41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.[1] An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

121

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944).

[p. 1b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

114 The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost innumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

[p. 2a]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[p. 10b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

121 A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

122 Practically all field work in the present 114 period has been done as part of a cooperative project of American and Mexican in-

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 330-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1767); Ocampo, 1900, 398-99 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 426-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1946.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 11a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investiga-
121 tion was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two com-
12/ munities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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PREFACE

000 their modern content and organization and of the potentialities they contain for future change.

An important part of the cooperative program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is the publication of research results. The publications will serve three purposes. First, the information they contain will contribute to a scientific formulation of the developmental and functional processes of culture. Particularly, it will contribute to an understanding of the formation of modern cultures. Second, the publications will provide specific and accurate data on which any successful action programs affecting the peoples concerned must be based. Third, they will afford an accurate picture of the peoples who constitute so great an element of many of the American Republics. Existing publications on these countries represent them disproportionately in terms of the city dweller or of special classes. There are extraordinarily few books from which the general reader can obtain an adequate and scientifically accurate account of the diversified peoples of indigenous ancestry.

One of the cooperative programs of the Institute of Social Anthropology is with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico. This program involves teaching anthropology, cultural geography, linguistics, and related subjects at the Escuela and field research among the Tarascan Indians of the State of Michoacán in Mexico. The research program for investigations among these Indians had already been formulated and partly carried out in recent years by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in cooperation with the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas of Mexico and the University of California. It is fortunate that the Institute of Social Anthropology will be able to further the work begun by these institutions not only by direct participation in the field research but by publishing some of the results already obtained.

114

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3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 The present paper, "Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans," by Ralph L. Beals, of the University of California; Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, California; and Pedro Carrasco, of México, D. F., is the first monograph to result from the work of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. Future monographs on other aspects of the program will be published under various auspices as opportunity arises.

"Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans" is also the first of the publications of the

[p, x, a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5(1940-1942)1944
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Institute of Social Anthropology. Subsequent publications of the Institute will include papers covering the work in Mexico and elsewhere. These will be published in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, and in Washington, D. C., or in the country in which the research was done, as circumstances dictate.

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Institute of Social Anthropology,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

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3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114

The present paper is the first substantial publication resulting directly from the Program of Anthropological Investigations Among the Tarascans. The Program originated as a cooperative undertaking entered into by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología (formerly, Departamento de Antropología, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, now part of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, and the University of California. The program provided for the cooperation of other interested institutions, and the collaboration of the Institute of Social Anthropology is a logical extension of the plan.

The general features of this Program are set forth in "The Tarascan Project: A Cooperative Enterprise of the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexican Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University of California," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla and Ralph L. Beals (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 42, pp. 708–712, 1940). Two short papers based on field research have already been published: "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher (Amer. Indígena, vol. 3, pp. 295–304, 1943), and "Games of the Mountain Tarascans" by Ralph L. Beals and Pedro Carrasco (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 46, pp. 516–522, 1944). Other papers are in preparation. These include "Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village," by Ralph L. Beals, which will appear as the second paper in the publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology. A number of other papers have also appeared which contribute to the objectives of the Program but which are the

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 3, pp. 99–121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 4, pp. 85–98, 1940).

121 The purpose of the Program is to provide a coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

[p. 1c]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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SCOPE OF THE STUDY

131 In the 16th century, the Tarascans occupied the State of Michoacán and some adjacent parts of Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Guerrero. Today they are reduced to part of central Michoacán, including the regions of Lake Pátzcuaro, Zacápu, La Cañada, and the Sierra. The present area extends from Lake Pátzcuaro on the east to near Los Reyes on the West, and from La Cañada south to Uruapan (fig. 1).

114 This study refers solely to the region where Tarascan is still spoken, and, more particularly,

[p. 5a]

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5(1940-1942)1944
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SCOPE OF
THE STUDY

114 to the Sierra. The town of Cherán is taken as the basis of investigation. Beals and McCorkle spent nearly 8 months in Cherán, in 1940–1941, although visiting other towns briefly. Carrasco spent some time in Cherán in January and February 1941, but spent most of his time in Angahuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Carrasco also spent part of January and all of February 1942, in the field, working especially in Paracho, but visiting extensively in the Lake Pátzcuaro region. Towns visited for varying lengths of time

[Continued on p. 6a]

114 by one or more of the authors included the following:

Sierra region:
- Ahuiran
- Angahuan
- Aranza
- Capacuaro
- Charapan
- Cherán
- Cocucho
- Corupo
- Nahuatzen
- Nurió
- Paracho
- Parangaricutiro
- Parícutin
- Patamban
- Pomacuarán
- Quinseo
- San Felipe
- San Lorenzo
- Tarecuato
- Urapicho
- Zirosto

La Cañada:
- Acachuén
- Carapan
- Chilchota
- Huáncito
- Ichán
- Santo Tomás
- Tacuro
- Tanaquillo
- Urán
- Zopoco

Lake Pátzcuaro:
- Cucuchucho
- Huecorio
- Ihuatzio
- Janicho
- Jarácuaro
- Tecuena
- Tzentsénhuaro
- Tzintzuntzan
- Tzurumútaro
- Yunuán

[continued on p. 6b]

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 Tarascan towns tend to be located on level, or relatively level ground. Exceptions are found only in a few villages located in the higher mountains such as Quinseo, Cocucho, and others. Ex- [363] cept where the irregularities of the terrain prohibit, the towns are subdivided by streets forming rectangular blocks oriented approximately to the compass points (pl. 1, upper). This is undoubt- [177] edly a reflection of the Spanish origins of these towns; in many of the settlements traditions of former locations still exist. The blocks are subdivided into lots, or *solares*, of quite variable size, which are used both as building sites and gardens. Usually, the lots are fenced, particularly on the side facing the street. Houses either may adjoin the street line or may be located well within the lot away from the street. In the center of the larger towns, structures are more apt to adjoin the street, but the doors of living quarters almost always open on the yard rather than the street.

In the Lake region, the fishing villages tend to [363] be on the edge of the water. As a result, some of the smaller villages, such as Tecuena and Yunuán, do not have streets but merely paths. Where the ground is very uneven, as at Janicho

[p. 6a] [continued bottom of page 6-b]

114 In the last area, information was also secured from residents of Cuanajo and Puácuaro, but these villages were not visited.

115 Many informants were used, but those most employed in Cherán were Pedro Chávez and Agustín Rangel; in Paracho, Maximino Estrada, master carpenter; and in Angahuan, the brothers José and Miguel Bravo.

104 Tarascan words are written in the alphabet approved by the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas. Unless otherwise indicated, Tarascan words are from Paracho or Cherán (the two are only 6 miles apart, and dialect differences are slight). Spanish words are italicized, but if the word has a special regional meaning not found in standard dictionaries, it is placed in quotations and the meaning is explained the first time the word is used. Names of towns are in the local Spanish spelling.

THE TARASCAN TOWN

361 on the Lake and some of the Sierra villages, such as Urapicho, the plan is irregular and the streets have steps.

If the town is of any size, it usually is divided into from two to four districts known as *cuarteles*, or *barrios*. The town tends to center on a plaza, where usually is to be found a municipal building, the school, and the church, although the latter may not be directly upon the plaza. In most [764] cases, a fenced cemetery exists before the church, but in some towns it has been replaced by a new cemetery on the outskirts. A stone cross still stands in the center of the cemetery in most towns.

342 Two clearly defined types of construction exist in the Tarascan area: wood, and a combination of adobe bricks and stone masonry laid in adobe mortar. In the region of the Sierra, the majority of houses are of wood with shake roofs. Adobe-and-masonry construction with tile roofs predominates in the region around Lake Pátzcuaro, the district of Zacápu, the region known as La Cañada, and the district of Zamora. The division, however, is not absolute. Adobe-and-masonry structures, sometimes with tile roofs, sometimes with shake roofs, are found in most of the towns of the Sierra, especially in the larger settlements and

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

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[P.iV contains no TEXT]

PREFACE

121 [122] The present study was done under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

114 Field work was done in April, May, and June of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. V-B]

PREFACE

boring mestizo pueblos (formerly Tarascan) were inspected to obtain comparative data. Approximately two-thirds of the field season was spent in the Sierra. Archival research was done in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán, Morelia, the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F., and the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F.

I am especially indebted to Sr. Pablo Valásquez G., a native Tarascan and anthropology student, who accompanied me in the field. His intimate knowledge of the Tarascan Sierra, its language, and many of its customs was an invaluable aid, not only in the field, but also while the report was in preparation. Velásquez read a large part of the manuscript and corrected the use and spelling of all Tarascan words employed in the text.

ROBERT C. WEST.

MEXICO, D. F.
March 1947.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS *and* PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

stormy agrarian period (1921-26), when the agrarian hero was, by word of mouth, "touching the sensitive parts" of the Tarascan peasantry.

The second method, astute intrigue, follows fairly familiar Machiavellian lines but with a self-conscious sophistication and articulateness that would have delighted the immortal Florentine (Machiavelli, 1942). Intrigue has always been a major, time-consuming political activity in Durasno, and astuteness (astucia) is a personal quality much admired by the cunning leaders. It is true that politics is often infused by the characteristic desperation of peasants struggling for land with a newly activated lust for power; old agrarian fighters recall that after the land reform in 1924 they felt like the "recently arrived." But Durasno politics also has the character for its participants of a fascinating game to be played astutely, in accordance with certain rules and a high sense of art.

The third principal method, human organisation, received great impetus during the twenties through the formation of regional committees and of "shock brigades," organized on Leninist principles. Leaders today conceive of their role as one of "organizing" and "controlling" the pueblo and the region. The cacique maintains a high threshhold of internal discipline, but the relations between the other leaders are horisontal, loose, and shifting. The importance of relations with higher organisations has already been described.

The fourth method, the "diagnostic trait" of violence, assumed the stature of a civil war during the agrarian period when indigenous patterns of blood vengeance and friendship loyalty combined with the ideological justifications of the reform struggle. During the twenty-year factional period from 1926 to 1948, Durasno and the region attained a unique notoriety in the state. Twenty-three cross-checked politically motivated homicides and several times more woundings and armed encounters took place in the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 alone. Leaders and ordinary citizens recognise violence as a normal aspect of politics, but today many are sick of it, and the incidence has greatly dropped. Assassinations are usually carried out by the more "valiant" members of a party and are generally directed against the minor figures of opposing parties. The number of active or potential peasant "fighters" in Durasno has always ranged between ten and forty and has been a significant power factor in region and state. The power basis of politics is a comparatively obvious factor here.

Much of what we have said here would apply to other forms of caciquismo, including larger, non-Indian, conservative areas, such as Spain. In the Boasian spirit, however, we have limited our inductions to one Mexican Indian cacicazgo. In 1896 Franz Boas wrote: "When we have cleared up the history of a single culture . . . we can then investigate in how far the same causes were at work in the development of other cultures."

NOTES

1. Fourteen months of fieldwork were conducted between March, 1955, and July, 1956, under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Mexican government.

2. Nonparticipants have illegally rented their plots, or are boycotting the cacique, or have withdrawn from politics from fear or weariness.

3. Leaders of opposition factions in the village stand ready to switch and offer a revolutionising support to a leader who challenges a state or national machine. This automatic village-level support of an opposition leader partially explains the cataclysmic success of Lazaro Cardenas when, in 1934, he turned against national "strong man" Calles.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a rewarding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons. It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urbanized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is celebrated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example, each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

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well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet-player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

A study in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

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[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 282-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.

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in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho.

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration.

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized.

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking.

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio, Indígena, Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mesclado, Cruzado, de razon*, Mestizo, half and half, revueltas, and white.

9: Lasker D-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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By GABRIEL W. LASKER

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community[1]

II. RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

KAPLAN has shown that whether individuals are considered to be Indians or Mestizos is primarily a cultural matter.[2] She reports the answers of a group studied in the Mexican town of Paracho, Michoacán to the question: "Are your parents Indians, Mestizos or what?" Such criteria as place of birth and language rather than physical appearance feature in the explanations.

For the same group for whom Kaplan has published data on the stated race of the parents, I have made a series of measurements and observations of racial characteristics. Both so-called Indians (148 males and 85 females) and Mestizos (135 males and 95 females) were examined. The Indians consist of persons both of whose parents are described as Tarascans, Indians or natives (*natural*). The Mestizos comprise individuals one or both of whose parents are described as white, Spanish (*gente de razon*), or mixed.

TABLE 1

RACIAL MEASUREMENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP

		Males			Females		
		No.	Mean	Standard Error	No.	Mean	Standard Error
Cephalic Index	Indian	146	77.8	0.3	83	78.6	0.3
	Mestizo	135	78.2	0.3	93	78.2	0.4
Bizygomatic Diameter	Indian	148	137.2 mm	0.4	85	129.8 mm	0.5
	Mestizo	96	136.3 mm	0.5	95	130.5 mm	0.5
Total Facial Index	Indian	148	90.1	0.5	85	90.2	0.6
	Mestizo	135	91.1	0.5	94	90.0	0.5
Upper Facial Index	Indian	130	53.9	0.3	74	54.6	0.5
	Mestizo	129	54.4	0.3	87	54.2	0.4
Stature	Indian	145	1618.4 mm	4.8	84	1513.9 mm	5.0
	Mestizo	132	1628.9 mm	4.7	93	1516.1 mm	5.0

Various physical traits are considered in respect to which Europeans differ from American Indian and other Mongoloid peoples. In the Mexican town under study, however, the children of persons identified as Indian and Mestizo differ little in these features. None of the differences between Indians and Mestizos in the measurements or indices considered shows a statistically significant critical ratio (see table 1). There is, for instance,

[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

[2] Bernice A. Kaplan, "Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community. I. Socio-Cultural Factors," PEABODY, XIV, No. 2, 178.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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The Diet of a Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher
(Estados Unidos)

Sumario

El presente artículo es una compilación de datos acerca del régimen alimenticio de los habitantes de Cherán, pueblo tarasco situado en las montañas michoacanas, a 4,500 pies de altura. Cherán es un pequeño pueblo de agricultores relativamente próspero ya que solamente un 10 a 20 por ciento de los habitantes pueden ser clasificados de pobres, no existiendo por otra parte, familias marcadamente ricas.

Para colectar el material de este estudio se emplearon tres métodos. 1. Una lista completa de los productos alimenticios que se consumen. 2. Una colección de los "menús" que forman una comida normal. 3. Algunas familias cultas de la localidad cooperaron consiguiendo una lista completa de los alimentos consumidos en los últimos quince días. La deficiencia de este método estriba en la imposibilidad de incluir en la lista los vegetales que se recogen en los bosques y se consumen como antojo, entre comidas.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la deficiencia del método los datos adquiridos alcanzan una misma conclusión general. Varias tablas van insertas, que muestran el régimen alimenticio. Estas tablas se encuentran distribuídas en la siguiente forma: Tabla 1: Derivada de las diversas fuentes de información. Tabla 2: Muestra el régimen alimenticio de un adulto de familia acomodada. Tabla 3: Un adulto de familia pobre.

Los autores señalan las dificultades que presenta el análisis de estos datos. Por ejemplo existe una gran variedad en el contenido vitamínico de los diversos alimentos y luego la incógnita de si los requisitos de condimentación son los mismos en todas las familias.

Es preciso hacer un estudio minucioso acerca de los alimentos que se consumen en la región, determinando mediante análisis clínicos el valor alimenticio de cada uno para averiguar qué deficiencias de vitaminas ocasionan las enfermedades.

Los autores finalmente propugnan por el mayor consumo en la región de trigo, camote, naranjas, plátanos, leche, y tomates, y recomiendan asimismo se disminuya el consumo del maíz.

The collection and analysis of data on the diet of the mountain Tarascan village of Cherán has raised a number of problems which it is believed may be of value to students interested in similar studies. The data and the interpretations given them are necessarily provisional and should not be regarded as more than general suggestions about the dietary situation in the village. Nevertheless, several different approaches gave similar results, and the interpretations should be of some use, pending a more thorough investigation of the subject.[1]

[1] The field data upon which this paper is based were collected by the senior author, Ralph L. Beals, assisted by Silvia Rendón and Thomas McCorckle, in the course of general study of the village of Cherán

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The village of Cherán is primarily an agricultural village, at an elevation of approximately 8500 feet, in the mountains between Pátzcuaro and Uruapan, Michoacán, México. The climate consequently is temperate. In comparison with other villages of the region, Cherán is relatively prosperous and it is probable that the diet is better than in the majority of Tarascan towns. In terms of Tarascan standards, probably only between ten and twenty percent of the population is to be classed as "poor". On the other hand, there are no markedly wealthy families.

Three methods of collecting data were used. One, followed primarily by Sra. Rendón, was the collection of a complete list of foods eaten and the compilation of a large number of menus of actual meals for as many families as was possible. In addition, the entire staff collected recipes for specific dishes. These, although of ethnographic interest, were of little use in the present study. Finally, the cooperation of a number of literate families was enlisted to get a complete record of the food consumed over a fifteen day period.

The final method naturally was the most valuable. Unfortunately, the number of cooperating families was small. Moreover, the accuracy of the returns probably varied considerably. In many cases, the amount of money spent was given rather than the quantity purchased but, as very detailed studies of prices had been made it was possible to equate prices and quantities with some accuracy. One considerable source of error is the amount of vegetables such as cabbage, greens, and so on gathered from gardens or from woods. In addition, a certain amount of fruit or "snacks", purchased in the market or from street vendors had to be estimated from knowledge of general habits. The most specific records covered only a period in the late Fall and do not take into account some slight seasonal variations in the diet. Despite all these deficiencies, the various types of data seem to point to the same general conclusions, and we believe that these are reasonably valid if the specific results are viewed with proper reserve.

An average weekly diet for a Cherán adult is presented in table I.[2]

in 1941-1942. The study formed a part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascan Indians, a joint enterprise of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas. Analysis of the data was made by the junior author, Evelyn Hatcher.

[2] In compiling the tables, the following sources were used: Chatfield and Adams, **Proximate Composition of American Food Materials**, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 549, 1940: Chatfield and McLaughlin, **Proximate Composition of Fresh Fruits**, United States Depart-

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph, "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

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PREFACE

The Florida State Museum's field of interest includes the greater Caribbean area. It is appropriate that the first non-archaeological issue of the *Contributions, Social Sciences*, should pertain to Mexico, our sister republic to the south; should refer to the interesting but much neglected Tarascan Indians; should be prepared by Maurice Boyd, Associate Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida; and should be based on field work done by him while a visiting professor at the University of Michoacán in Mexico.

The Tarascans are relatively unknown in comparison with the Aztecs. They are covered by single line references or, at most, a paragraph in books written in English which deal with the history of Mexico. Yet these people were nearly the equals of the Aztecs both in military strength and cultural attainments. It is primarily an accident of geography which gave the Aztecs the greater prominence.

Dr. Boyd has made a special study of the Tarascans—their life, their history, and their culture. We are glad to present the first results of this research.

Ripley P. Bullen
Curator of Social Sciences

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ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sjerra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[Text continues on p. 4]

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prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignacia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

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of the town of Cuitzeo; the other stories were told by Manuel Valenzuela, a former guide around Tzintzuntzan, in his uniquely exciting, urbane style.

Told and retold for generations in their native tongue, these tales were rendered orally in the Spanish of the region and translated into English by the author.

The stories have a continuity dating back to the sixteenth century (Ruiz, 1940). The exact phraseology varies with the individual narrator, and his rendition usually conforms to the peculiar orientation given by his native pueblo. Some of these legends were published in Spanish by Ruiz in 1940, but this presentation represents their first appearance in English. The Ruiz versions are more elaborate than those presented herein and thereby form an interesting comparison.

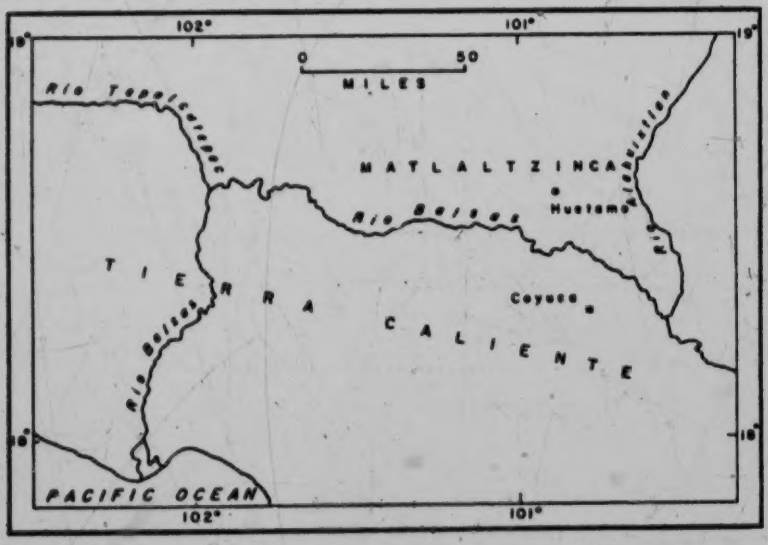

Fig. 2. Map of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán

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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region.

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan.

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century.

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listerners the memory of the charming Huanita.

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.